114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and [324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central [128] subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

127 material, I have depended on published works to supplement my own findings. These sources are acknowledged throughout the work.

128 The organization of the study follows the main topics which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter is a discussion of the geography of the island, including climate, soils, physiography, and regional differences that exist. This is included for the specific purpose of indicating limiting factors in agriculture and land use, and to make clear that the geographical relationships with continental Asia and Japan have varied throughout history and with the changes in international relations. The voyages following the Age of Discovery, the events leading up to the opening of Japan, the Japanese wars with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05), the events following World War I, World War II, and the unexpected emergence of Korea as a major post-war battleground have produced their reverberations in the Ryukyus, especially in Okinawa. We are dealing with an old culture, long settled in the area, and, as a consequence, with modifications and changes of the natural environment dating back millenia. Okinawa has developed by an intensive and widespread conversion of the forests, the soils, the plants, and the small rivers to human use.

In the historical chapter, this idea of a culture modifying the natural environment over centuries is supplemented by a discussion of the intrusive influences which have been brought to bear on its history. [129] These influences range from the introduction of the family system and of the sweet potato to the American Coco Cola. The cultural history is a product of these influences from continental Asia, Japan, and the United States in addition to the changes coming to an environment in which people live close to the land and have sometimes carefully, sometimes carelessly modified, it to suit their needs and tastes.

Within the framework provided by the geographical and historical chapters, the main body of the report begins with a discussion of the types of villages found in Okinawa, a description of each of the villages studied, the physical and historical differences that seem to distinguish them. Following this, there is a discussion of village populations, the effects of settlement, pre-war emigration and post-war displacement and repatriation. The last chapter of this part is concerned with housing. This could have been considered elsewhere, but housing is really a more detailed study of the elements of which a village is composed. Housebuildin and construction are, except for the primary occupations, the most common of all village activities. It seemed logical to follow the technical discussion of housing with the ceremonies of housebuilding, though this too could have been placed elsewhere in the work.

The third part begins with an exposition of social organization as embodied in the family system, a discussion of the small and the extended family, devices such as adoption, and the significance of the household order, or secondary family naming system. The discussion is then shifted to the nature and the effectiveness of inheritance and the manner in which inheritance actually works out in an area of fragmented land holdings.

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The nature of the land itself is then explained with emphasis on the historical significance of the old communal land system (jiwari seido) and on the system introduced by the Japanese, slightly over fifty years ago, of private ownership of land. Here I have tried to show that one of the central facts of the culture is the intimate knowledge which the people possess of their land and its capabilities, and that this knowledge is based on experience of farmers, expressed in the system of land classification.

Once the land tenure system and land classification are understood, it becomes necessary to show in what way the land and the soils are being used and conserved. It should be obvious that large populations living off a small island could only have subsisted, as they have in the agricultural lands of China and Japan, by intensive fertilization, minute care of the arable land, and conservation measures. This is extended here to the non-arable lands, for these have an extraordinary significance in the lives and well-being of the people.

With these facts before us, we are in a better position to understand the manner in which agriculture is pursued. In the chapter on agriculture I have been concerned with describing it as something more than a mere technique, a routine of planting and harvesting, but as a way of life bound up with the family system, inheritance, subdivision and fragmentation, land classification, and soil conservation.

Agriculture certainly is the normal way of life in Okinawa. But fishing, stonecutting, the use and the exploitation of the forests are not exotic exceptions. They are important, if secondary occupations, and the materials from Hinatotawa-Nagano and Matsuda are used to illustrate the use of the waters, the quarries, and the forests. With respect to the forests, I have tried to show their intimate relation to the welfare of the whole island, perhaps neither so intimate nor so crucial as in Japan, but meriting the emphasis which I have given them.

Following the discussion of these topics, I have described in some detail the everyday life of villages, pointing out similarities and differences between villages when these seem to have significance. The main theme here is that in daily life from infancy to old age, the sense of belonging to a culture is never lost, and that it is this fact that probably has brought about the emotional security of Okinawans which has struck many foreign observers. This sense of belonging, I feel, is much more important than the various single explanations, such as breast feeding, that have been urged as causes of the development of a sense of security. Without trying to make sharp distinctions, I have tried to show how the daily life changes with different ages and to follow in the experience of the individual from infancy to the observances which take place at his death, and to make clear that the distinctions between the individual, the family, and the community experience are more literary conventions or devices for convenience in exposition than realities, for there is such a blending of the three that it would be highly artificial to deal with these as separate areas of experience. The two month infant carried on the back of his sister through

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128 the village is molded and conditioned to society and the culture in which he will live as effectively in the lanes, the crossroads, and the playgrounds of the village as he is in the home in which he is nursed and put to sleep.

The blending of family life with community life I have tried to document in the last part which concerns both official and unofficial community functions, such as political organization, neighborhood groups, and associations, education, cooperation, religion, entertainment, and extra-village contacts. While it would be foolish to argue that community life is but an extension of family life as conditioned by the family system, neither can the influences of the family system on the wider community life be ignored, especially when the villages are composed of so many related family groups.

121 Even though the SIRI program was devised with the practical object in mind of furnishing, by this type of investigation, materials upon which a sound civil administration could be based, an objective with which I am of course in sympathy, I felt that this practical value could best be achieved by producing a work which would cover as much of the field as possible and in a manner as if it were not being done for these practical considerations. A dispassionate account of what I saw, the historical and geographical data that could be assembled, the interpretations which seemed to be valid, I considered to be the best possible way of contributing to the end in mind.

By presenting as much as could be gathered, as accurately as possible, I felt that the answers to many questions, which I could not anticipate, would be implicit in a work which otherwise might lose value by too narrow a focus governed by the interests of the moment. For the same reason, while the work covers many aspects of Okinawan life, it is not directed toward specialists. On the contrary, my attempt has been to present a picture of the life of these villages, trusting that those who use it or read it will find suggestions or points of view or relationships which I had not suspected, and thus indirectly open up new avenues of inquiry.

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Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

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1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living.

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement.

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible.

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realised from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children.

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HANS

Hanashiro 5
Minatogawa 9
Matsuda 16

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6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

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The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership.

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Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township.

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The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village.

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At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai).

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A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration.

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

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1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions.

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed.

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalised religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief.

798 796 Similar worship may take place at a spring (isumi). Near Oushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

796 798 796 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

796 798 798 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain, is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

796 798 782 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the water, thanks are offered to the well god.

796 128 The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

[796] 789 798 One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely that Saion capitalised on the ancient interdict against cutting down

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CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past.

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognised.

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land.

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as guaged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification.

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled

parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains, the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development. Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialised studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organisation, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

121 views, child interviews and Thematic Apperception Tests, and the child behavior protocols. It is worth noting, however, as stated in the *Field Guide,* that "One of the hallmarks of the research project is the emphasis on systematic observation of behavior and the development of flexible questionnaire methods which focus upon concrete actions, with projective techniques taking a clearly secondary, but related place." The choice of these methods for assessing personality was the result of the senior investigators' previous disappointment in their attempts to relate doll play and other projective tests to other measures of behavior.*

The cultural material presented in this volume will be used to make a preliminary test of our hypotheses. Further tests will be made on the basis of the individual differences in the behavior of children and the methods of child rearing reported by the individual mothers. Both these analyses will be presented in later publications. A preliminary report of the analysis of the mother interviews by Triandis and Lambert has already been published (1961) and their detailed analysis is near completion.

● 128 The outline of each of the six monographs included in this volume is organized around the conceptual system presented above. There are two main parts: one a description of the adult world into which the child is born—*the ethnographic background,* the second an account of how the child is trained—*child training.* In Part I, each account starts with a description of the environment and the local setting, with descriptions of the village plan, the houses, and their interior arrangements. The account then moves on to a description of the daily routine of living and the economic pursuits of men and women. A chapter on social structure follows. In other words, these chapters describe the maintenance systems, the parameters which set the stage for child rearing. The selection of material for the remainder of Part I is also theoretically determined and includes either descriptions of adult behavior or the cultural products which seem to be the best indices of adult personality.

121 In order to explain the selection of behavior and cultural products, it is necessary to return to the discussion of the dimensions of personality selected for focus by the senior investigators. As noted, the hypotheses to be tested were focused on aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control. William Lambert and the Cornell group, because of previous research, were most interested in aggression, Irvin Child in dependency, and John Whiting and the Laboratory of Human Development in the

* For a detailed discussion of behavior observation, see Lambert (1960).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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and that there are few cases of physical violence in either Taira or Santa Domingo barrio, Juxtlahuaca.

The chapter on medical practices and theories of disease is included because variations in such belief systems were found useful indices of personality by Whiting and Child (1953) in their cross-cultural study and in later studies by Whiting (1959). Similarly, the analysis of man's relation to the supernatural was fruitfully analyzed by Spiro and D'Andrade (1958), Whiting (1959), Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959). Mourning behavior and death ceremonies have also been studied cross-culturally (Friendly, 1956).

It was hoped that the analysis of the use of leisure time might be made along dimensions relevant to the nine behavior systems. The man who prefers to be alone in his spare time would be rated less sociable than one who always seeks the company of others. The amount of teasing or playful wrestling in leisure settings, or even the amount of pleasure derived from cock fights, might be used to rate the degree of preoccupation with aggression. The amount of time spent practicing skills might indicate the need for achievement. Whether or not men seek the company of women, men and women, or only men, is of interest in assessing personality; similarly, whether a man chooses to smoke, eat, talk, drink, dance, or play games. The nature of popular games can be analyzed along lines suggested by John Roberts (1957).

Part II of the ethnographies is organized chronologically, beginning with pregnancy and childbirth and continuing through preadolescence. The time spent on the observation of this age span made it impractical to study systematically the lives of the adolescent children. The only exception to this is the monograph on the Nyansongo group in Kenya. The LeVines were particularly interested in the effect of initiation ceremonies on the Nyansongo boys and girls. For this reason they selected three age groups for study: the 3-to-7, the 7-to-10-year-olds, and the postinitiation boys and girls. The Nydeggers included a brief chapter on adolescence in their monograph. The other field teams did not feel that they had enough knowledge to include such a description.

The age span covered in the individual chapters of the six descriptions of socialization differs, each division being made on the basis of the age groups and the transitions recognized by the members of the society. Thus in Khalapur, India, where socialization is not broken by clearly defined stages, there are only three chapters. In Taira, Okinawa, on the other hand, there are named stages and sharp transitions, and the Maretzkis have followed this pattern in describing socialization.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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socialization. Weaning from the breast and back is an abrupt change in an Okinawan child's life. The transition from kindergarten to school age is also clear and dramatized. Before school age a child is "senseless," according to the mothers, and cannot be properly trained.

Within these chapters an attempt has been made to cover the parent's or parent surrogate's treatment of the nine behavior systems and the child's response to socialization. Obviously some of the behavior systems are not relevant in infancy. In general, the early chapters concentrate on the handling of succorance, the mother's early contact with the child, the number of other individuals who share in the early care of the child, and their responsiveness to the demands of the infant. Among the hypotheses advanced in the *Field Guide,* several concern the consequence of indulgence in infancy. As stated: "Indulgence in infancy, a large number of nurturing agents, and mild transition from infantile indulgence into childhood will produce: (1) a trustful attitude toward others, (2) general optimism, and (3) sociability." It is also stated that training with respect to succorance will tend to influence sociability.

It is hoped that, on the basis of the information presented in the chapters on infancy, the reader can compare indulgence in infancy and the number of nurturing agents. The comparison of weaning from the breast and from complete dependence on caretakers should make it possible to evaluate the severity of the transition. For the consequent measures one may turn either to the description of the behavior of older children or to the behavior and belief systems of adults. Is it true that, comparatively speaking, the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child is more friendly and sociable in later life than the Nyansongan? In infancy, the Mixtecan is constantly held or carried close to the mother's body, enveloped in a shawl. The Nyansongo child is tended for periods of time by a less consistently responsive 5-to-8-year-old child. In adult life, are the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan adults more optimistic and trustful than the Nyansongans?

With the onset of weaning, other behavior systems become important. Training for self-reliance and the associated punishment for succorance are universal problems, but the degree to which this new behavior is expected of 3-year-olds varies from one society to another. The Orchard Town 3-year-old is feeding and dressing himself while the Khalapur Rājpūt child of the same age may still be dressed and fed by his mother. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the abruptness of the shift in expected behavior varies. The handling of aggression against parents, siblings, and peers is also a universal problem which

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

PREFACE

114 122 This report is based on nine months of field research which was conducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu 121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

114 101 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954. One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

• 128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

[131] Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

[133] Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

[311] [241] Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal [134] fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

[311] [243] [241] Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167 727

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1] 161 389

Areas of Occasional Surplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161 128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

[Kochinda-son]

582 a divorce previously. In two cases the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. In twenty instances the first birth was a boy, and in nine cases a girl. The period between the marraige recording and the first birth ranged from a mere 282 days to four years seven months.

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 17, or 59%, of the cases reported. Marriages to girls coming from outside the village accounted for 12 cases, or 51% of those reported. The composition[1] of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table X

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	16	55
Lateral	2	7
Mixed	5	17
Nuclear	6	21
Total	29	100

Marriages Recorded After Conception In this category, younger husbands numbered 14, while older husbands number 63. In three cases the husband had had a divorce and his remarriage was the one recorded. In another case the first wife had died and the man remarried. The first birth was a boy in 31 cases, and a girl in 46 cases. Marriages to girls from the same village constituted 46, or 60%, of the cases. Wives who came from other villages numbered 31, or 40% of the cases.

[128]

1 The type families are based with modifications upon the definitions in George P. Murdock, Social Structure: "the nuclear family consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring...the type of family recognized to the exclusion of all others by our own society." (p. 1.) "An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than of the husband-wife relationship, i.e., by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. The patrilocal extended family, often called the patriarchal family, furnishes an excellent example. It embraces, typically, an older man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, his married sons, and the wives and children of the latter. Three generations, including the nuclear families of father and sons, live under a single roof or in a cluster of adjacent dwellings." This is the type of family here called the mixed family; the terminology was retained even in event of the war death of either parent in the older generation. The term lineal as used here means a lineally extended family consisting of one or both grandparents, a married son and daughter-in-law (or daughter and 'yōshi') with the latter's offspring. The term lateral as used in this report refers to a laterally extended family composed of two brothers and their respective wives, and the offspring of at least one of the couples.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
• 128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking. Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

APPENDIX "A"

128 This appendix contains figures upon which Maps 2 through 7 were based. List A is for Map 2, List B for Map 3, and so forth. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are derived from the Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950. All other figures are based on data in Ryūkyū tōkei hokoku.

311 List A Arable land under cultivation as a percentage of total land area.
241 The 31 December 1950 figures are used for area of arable land. Figures for total land area are for 31 December 1952. However, the calculation is valid as of the former date because the areas of political units did not change in the two years. The amount of arable land in Haha is negligible; the area for Tokashiki was not available in 'chō'.

311 List B Flooded fields (riceland) as a percentage of total arable land under
243 cultivation, 1950. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1947. No acreage of riceland was reported from Ie Shima, Naha, Agunī, Minami Daitō or Kita Daitō.

161 List C Population density per square kilometer. The data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 31 December 1952.

List D Number of persons per acre of arable land under cultivation, 1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The census of persons in Okinawa Guntō was taken on 1 December 1950. The data on acreage of arable land under cultivation were reported 31 December 1950. Inasmuch as December is not a month when new land is reclaimed, the map and figures may be considered valid as of 1 December 1950. No figure is given for Naha because the acreage of arable land is negligible. No figure is given for Minami Daitō because of the great acreage planted to sugar cane. About 9,400 'tan' of the 11,000 'tan' of arable land there is in this crop.

List E Percentage of increase in population, 1940-1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 October 1940 and 1 December 1950. A minus sign (-) denotes a net decrease. At the time of the 1940 census, some political units were not separate, but were included in towns or cities nearby; therefore the 1950 figure of necessity includes both areas as one.

List F Percentage of increase in population, 1950-1952. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 December 1950 and 31 December 1952. The total percentage of increase in the 25 months was 5.55%---these percentages are reported on page 76 of Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands. On the map any area with an increase of less than 5.55% and a decrease of less than 5% was considered an area of moderate emigration. Any area where the decrease exceeded 5% was considered as an area of excessive emigration. An area with more than 5.55% increase but less than 10% increase during that period was considered an area of moderate immigration. Areas in which the increase exceeded 10% are considered as having urban characteristics.